

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 001357

73

ORIGIN INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 RSC-01 /021 R

DRAFTED BY INR/RES:EWILLENZ; IKULSKI

APPROVED BY INR/DRR:MPACKMAN

INR/RES:KKERST

EUR/RPM

----- 056231

R 032138Z JAN 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO OIC PTC

INFO USMISSION NATO

ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 001357

PASS FOLLOWING VIA THE NATO-WIDE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM

RR RFWFA RFWFB RFWFD RFWFE RFWF RFWFG RFWFH RFWFI RFWFK

RFWFL RFWFM RFWFN RFWFO RFWFP RFWFQ RFWFR RFWFZ

DE RFWFS 1357 0032158

ZNY CCCCC

R 032138Z JAN 5

FROM WASHINGTON

TO AIG 6006, 6007

B T

NATO CONFIDENTIAL FROM WASHINGTON

POLITICAL ANALYSIS: PONOMAREV DEFENDS DETENTE AT  
BUDAPEST MEETING

1. THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED PREPARATORY  
MEETING OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN BUDAPEST  
(DECEMBER 19-21) WAS SOVIET PARTY SECRETARY PONOMAREV'S  
PARTICULARLY STRONG DEFENSE OF SOVIET DETENTE POLICY.  
PONOMAREV OBVIOUSLY WAS RESPONDING TO RECURRENT COMMU-  
NIST CRITICISM OF THE THRUST OF SOVIET DETENTE PRIORITIES.  
HE ARGUED THAT MOSCOW'S POLICY WAS THE BEST INSTRUMENT FOR  
ADVANCING THE INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE SOVIET UNION BUT  
ALSO OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 001357

2. THE TONE OF BOTH HIS SPEECH AND THE COMMUNIQUE WINDING UP THE MEETING INDICATE THAT MOSCOW IS STILL ENCOUNTERING

RESISTANCE TO ITS VIEWS REGARDING THE AGENDA FOR A FULL MEETING OF EUROPEAN PARTIES, AS WELL AS TO ITS PROPOSALS ON A FUTURE WORLD COMMUNIST MEETING.

3. PONOMAREV'S DEFENSE OF DETENTE WAS CLEARLY RESPONSIVE TO CRITICS WITHIN SOME EUROPEAN PARTIES WHO CONTEND THAT MOSCOW, PREOCCUPIED WITH THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP, IS EQUATING DETENTE WITH THE STATUS QUO AND THUS PREJUDICING FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE LOCAL PARTIES. AMONG OTHER POINTS, PONOMAREV:

(A)--LAUDED BREZHNEV'S RECENT MEETINGS WITH WESTERN LEADERS;

(B)--REITERATED THE DEMAND THAT DETENTE BE MADE IRREVERSIBLE;

(C)--SAW THE EARLIER WARSAW CONSULTATIVE MEETING (OCTOBER 16-18) AS SHOWING THAT EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS HAD "GENERALLY COMMON VIEWS" ON THE MAJOR ISSUES OF PEACE, SECURITY, AND SOCIAL PROGRESS; AND

(D)--SAID THAT A WORLD CONFERENCE WOULD ADVANCE THIS PROGRAM STILL FURTHER.

4. SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVELY, PONOMAREV BRUSHED ASIDE THE ARGUMENT THAT INCREASED ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EXCHANGES WITH THE WEST WILL STRENGTHEN CAPITALISM; HE CLAIMED INSTEAD THAT SOVIET TRADE AND EXCHANGES WITH THE WEST ONLY HELP THE WORKERS THERE. HIS STATEMENT WAS REMINISCENT OF AN EARLIER, BITTER EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE BENEFITS AND DRAWBACKS OF DETENTE. AS IN THAT POLEMIC, PONOMAREV NOW ADVOCATED EXPANDING TRADE AND EXCHANGES IN ORDER TO UNDERScore THE UNFAVORABLE CONTRAST BETWEEN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE WEST AND IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES--THE SOVIET UNION PARTICULARLY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 001357

5. PONOMAREV ALSO HELD THAT TRADE COULD DEFUSE THE POSSIBLE DANGER FROM THE RIGHT THAT MIGHT ARISE IN THOSE COUNTRIES, WERE THE ECONOMIC CRISIS TO GO UNCHECKED. IN EFFECT, PONOMAREV EQUATED A GROWING RIGHTIST DANGER IN WESTERN EUROPE WITH A GROWING DANGER OF MILITARIZATION AND WAR, THREATENING NOT ONLY THE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE WEST BUT ALSO THE MAINTENANCE OF

PEACE ITSELF.

6. PONOMAREV EMPHASIZED "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND ATTACKED "EUROPO-CENTRISM." BOTH THEMES SEEM TO REFLECT CONTINUING SOVIET CONCERN OVER THE TENDENCY OF EUROPEAN PARTIES TO GIVE PRIMARY ATTENTION TO THEIR OWN AFFAIRS AND TO GIVE A PURELY EUROPEAN SLANT TO THE PROPOSED COMMUNIST MEETINGS. "BROADENING DETENTE, AND REINFORCING IT," AS WELL AS SOLIDARITY WITH THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE "OF PEOPLES EVERYWHERE"-- THAT IS, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM--STILL MUST HOLD FIRST PLACE, IN MOSCOW'S VIEW.

7. LINKED WITH THIS EXHORTATION WAS PONOMAREV'S CHARGE THAT "DIFFERENT QUARTERS" ALWAYS ARE ATTEMPTING TO PLAY ON NATIONALIST SENTIMENT, THEREBY UNDERMINING THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. IT WAS A POINTED ALLUSION TO EFFORTS BY ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA, AND KEY NON-RULING WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTIES, TO STEER A COURSE MORE INDEPENDENT OF SOVIET DIRECTION.

8. ON THE SENSITIVE ISSUES OF A WORLD MEETING AND THE EVER-PRESENT CHINESE PROBLEM, PONOMAREV TOOK REFUGE IN CIRCUMLOCUTION. BUT HIS BLUNT ATTACKS ON "ANTI-SOVIETISM," AND HIS DEMAND THAT A FUTURE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE SHOULD NAME THE ENEMIES OF DETENTE, SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIETS INTEND TO KEEP THE CHINA ISSUE ALIVE. HIS ALLUSIONS TO "BROADER SUPPORT" FOR "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" REFLECTED THE CONTINUING SOVIET INTEREST IN A WORLD MEETING. THESE ROUNDABOUT REFERENCES (WHICH ARE NOT REFLECTED IN THE COMMUNIQUE) ARE BOUND TO GENERATE FURTHER SUSPICION THAT THE SOVIETS' ULTIMATE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 001357

INTENTION IS TO HAVE CHINA PILLORIED AT A WORLD CONFERENCE.

9. NEITHER THE COMMUNIQUE NOR AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON THE PROCEEDINGS AT BUDAPEST INDICATES AGREEMENT ON A FIRM DATE FOR THE PROPOSED EUROPEAN PARTY MEETING. BOTH IMPLY MERELY THAT FURTHER SPECIAL GATHERINGS AND ADDITIONAL PREPARATORY MEETINGS MAY BE CALLED BEFORE A DATE WILL BE SET. THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE IS STILL SCHEDULED TENTATIVELY FOR SOME TIME IN THE FIRST PART OF 1975, PRESUMABLY AFTER THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION.

10. IN THIS CONNECTION, BOTH PONOMAREV AND THE COMMUNIQUE SPOKE OF AN URGENT NEED, AS WELL AS FAVORABLE

PROSPECTS, FOR A SUMMIT-LEVEL CONSUMMATION OF THE CSCE.

PONOMAREV JOINED THIS THEME WITH AN EXHORTATION ON THE  
NEED FOR PROGRESS AT THE MBFR VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS,  
CLAIMING THAT THE PARTIES AT BUDAPEST BACKED THE SOVIET  
CALL FOR REINFORCING POLITICAL DETENTE WITH MILITARY  
DETENTE. KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COMMUNISTS, PARTY MEETINGS, SPEECHES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 03 JAN 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE001357  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EWILLENZ; IKULSKI  
**Enclosure:** DG ALTERED  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750004-0277  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750178/aaaacrbg.tel  
**Line Count:** 176  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN INR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 APR 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <15 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** POLITICAL ANALYSIS: PONOMAREV DEFENDS DETENTE AT BUDAPEST MEETING  
**TAGS:** PINT, UR, XG, (PONOMAREV)  
**To:** OIC PTC  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006